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10 March 1983

## Talking Points for the DCI on CSCE

1. The current Madrid meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is scheduled to recess on 25 March.

- The 35 participants are negotiating on a draft final document prepared by the Neutral and Non-Aligned countries (NNAs) that will be presented next week.
- Both the Soviet Union and the West European Allies hope a compromise agreement can be reached and that the parties will agree to convene a European Disarmament Conference (CDE) after Madrid.
- Such compromise is unlikely, however, because of continuing East-West differences over human rights issues.

2. The Soviets have displayed no greater flexibility on major points in CSCE since Brezhnev's death, and Eastern delegates have continued to reject proposed Western language on a number of human rights matters.

- Although the working atmosphere has been more businesslike and less soured by polemics, the Soviets have not gone beyond limited compromise on minor issues.
- Igor Andropov, fifth ranking member of the Soviet delegation and son of the CPSU General Secretary, stated on 22 February that the USSR "is not prepared to reach agreement at any price" at Madrid.

3. Some Soviet officials have hinted privately, however, that some concessions might be forthcoming, possibly before the Easter recess.

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- The Soviets remain intent on securing a CDE, and Moscow may be even more eager to demonstrate publicly its commitment to arms control in other forums now that the West German election has diminished Soviet hopes of forestalling INF deployments entirely.

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4. The Soviets might consider agreeing to expel certain dissidents if they saw no other way to achieve their objectives at CSCE. We think it more likely, however, that Andropov will stick to a tough line on human rights issues, so as not to undermine his domestic discipline program. [ ]

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- Current signs are not encouraging: maximum sentences were handed down to two dissidents tried earlier this month.

5. Until the degree of Moscow's willingness to make concessions becomes clearer, the Soviets will continue to try to divide the West Europeans from the US in an effort to induce the US to modify its position on CSCE.

- A Soviet Foreign Ministry official warned a US Embassy officer on 1 March about continued US obstructionism at Madrid, and said he perceived greater receptivity to the idea of a compromise among the West Europeans.
- The Soviets might also choose to prolong the Madrid conference without offering concessions in hopes that a new, more accommodating US administration might be elected in 1984.

6. West European governments have joined the US in submitting a series of amendments to the NNA draft final document and are awaiting the release of the draft next week before determining what steps to take before the Easter recess. The Allies are divided in their assessment of CSCE progress and prospects.

- West German Foreign Minister Genscher at an EC meeting on 1 March was somewhat optimistic about recent negotiating progress and said compromise with the East was possible.
- Belgian Foreign Minister Tindemans at the same meeting also noted signs of flexibility in both the US and Soviet positions and believed the West should compromise on human rights in order to reach agreement with the East.
- Spain's Socialist Government in mid-February declared it is not bound by the previous Government's co-sponsorship of the Western amendment package, and may favor dropping some human rights amendments in order to reach agreement.
- A Dutch official, on the other hand, expressed his government's concern about apparent softening in the Western position on human rights. He believes that a

CDE this year would make it more difficult to retain support for INF basing because opponents would argue that missile deployments are inconsistent with CSCE principles.

- British and French officials also are skeptical about the chances for compromise on human rights.

7. Among the Neutral and Non-Aligned Countries, Switzerland, Austria, and Yugoslavia will probably propose a two year interruption in the talks if no agreement is reached by April.

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